838 [595 582 605] Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (bl) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutehãdige tamindige (bl)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 605 607 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable. But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the [601] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũhe iahaiʔete. (bl)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 534 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)" (kaiyohitunuhi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

1: Levi-Strauss--95 E-8 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tapirapé SP9

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607 customs of the country, which is to have Chetouasaps or hosts or
171 godfathers, giving them merchandise instead of money; and this hospitality or godfathership is very strict among them: for they actually consider you their children while you live with them, they go hunting and fishing for you, and moreover their custom was to give their daughters to their godfathers" (4). Farther on he speaks

4. Voyage dans le nord du Brésil. Ed. F. Denis, Leipzig and Paris, II, 14.

of the "French who were lodged by godfathership in these villages."(5)

5. Loc. cit., XXVIII, 109.

T The indigenous institution is confirmed by Jean de Léry (6): "it is
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6. Loc. cit. II, Ch. 20, p. 133; cf. also, Cardim, Tratado da Terra e da Gente do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1925, p. 169-170.

to be noted that these words Atouaraap and Coton-anap differ, for the first signifies a perfect alliance among them and between them and us, to the extent that the goods of one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or the sister of the first named." The "Coton-anap" is consequently, inversely as regards the preceding, privileged in two forms of marriage: that with the sister of his partner, who makes him a "brother-in-law," and that with her daughter, that is an admission to the number of maternal uncles, making of him a
N T theoretical brother of the wife, which leads to the same result.

607 [83] It is necessary to note another analogy in the relationship
171 between brothers-in-law among the Nambikwara and among the Tupi. All the texts which we have quoted agree in admitting the existence among the Tupi of a sort of authority exercised by the young men over their sisters. The marriage of cross-cousins seems to result from a mutual exchange of sisters among the men who are related in this way. The same thing can be said when the father gives his daughter to his wife's brother. Thus, actual or potential brothers-in-law are tied by a relationship of a special nature, founded on an exchange of services
N of a sexual order. We have seen that such a relationship also exists
[338] among the Nambikwara brothers-in-law, with this difference that among the Tupi these services fall back on the sisters and daughters,

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607 while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law
171 exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships,
N which make up for the absence of an available sister.
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N We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted
171 with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-
582 cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in
607 the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the
601 second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarute or jopa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetouanap (Yves d'Evreux) or cotonamap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

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1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

[581] Dutemõdednige (bl), say the Nambikwara men: "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monodginigere, bl) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tayorõtige, bl). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
●[938] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebiligere, bl), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
584 (amnõtige, bl) his old wife to take another (ulamumõtige, bl) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied.(1)

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1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: "..... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
556 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

string (secondary release). Four types of arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually prohibited by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

Nambicuara arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

607 is consequently much wider than "brother-in-law" as we understand it, including as it does approximately half the masculine members of a man's generation; the rest, of course, receive the name "brother" (consanguineous or
[608] classificatory). It should be noted that in the Nambikuara kinship system men alone have brothers-in-law and, conversely, women alone have sisters-in-law.

602 Only in the case of brothers-in-law are the Nambikuara conscious of a
607 link between a special type of behavior and the position occupied by a kinsman in the relationship system. Generally speaking, there are no rules of avoidance or of privileged familiarity between particular kinds of relatives. The relations with the spouse's parents do not differ substantially from those with the parallel uncle and aunt and, although it is true that relations between consanguineous or classificatory siblings are rather reserved, the natives are unable to define this diffuse behavior. As a matter of fact, while siblings and parallel cousins do not avoid each other, they do not joke or even talk together unless there is a special reason for doing so. Sisters-in-law, on the contrary, comport themselves very freely. They laugh and joke together and render each other small services, such as rubbing each other's back with urucu paste. And, more especially, exceptional relations are revealed when one passes to the brothers-in-law.

607 We have already mentioned the partial polygyny which exists in the group.
858 The chief or shaman periodically withdraws several of the youngest and prettiest women from the regular cycle of marriages; consequently, young men often find it difficult to marry, at least during adolescence, since no potential spouse is available. The resulting problem is solved in Nambikuara society by homosexual relations, which receive the rather poetical name *tamindigu ka'dudigu*—"sham love." Relations of this kind are frequent among young men and are more publicly displayed than heterosexual ones. Unlike most adults, the partners do not seek the isolation of the bush, but settle close to the camp fire in front of their amused neighbors. Although the source of occasional jokes, such relations are considered childish and no one pays much attention to them. We did not discover whether the partners aim at achieving complete sexual gratification or whether they limit themselves to such sentimental effusions and erotic behavior as most frequently characterize the relations between spouses. In any event, the point is that homosexual relations occur only between *male cross cousins*.

We never learned whether or not the same relations continue to exist between adult cross cousins; it does not seem likely. Nevertheless, the freedom and demonstrativeness displayed by brothers-in-law toward one another are not characteristic of the relations between brothers or between the members of any other class of relatives. One often sees among the Nambikuara (who, in fact, like to indulge in expressions of affection) two or three men, married and

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always

tawáky tainóiyt

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces. In the course of our field-work we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabéwa* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tawándy* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.